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FOLLOWING REPEAT ADDIS ABABA 01176 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
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QUOTE S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 1176

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: SEELYE MEETING WITH ACTING FONMIN

SUMMARY: DURING AMB SEELYE'S CALL ON ACTING FONMIN
GETACHEW KIBRET, LATTER STRESSED HIGH VALUE EPMG ATTACHED
TO CONTINUING BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, NOTWITH-
STANDING REVOLUTIONARY POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT. GETACHEW
WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF SAUDI ARABIAN ROLE IN SUPPORTING
ANTI-EPMG ELEMENTS AND INFLUENCING SUDAN TO ASSUME
HOSTILE STANCE VIS-A-VIS ETHIOPIA. HE PRESSED FOR
CREATION OF GRAND COALITION OF ALL POLITICAL FACTIONS
IN DJIBOUTI AS BEST MEANS OF ASSURING PEACEFUL TRANSITION
TO INDEPENDENCE AND ASKED FOR US SUPPORT IN PROMOTING
THIS IDEA. SEELYE, WHILE CONCENTRATING ON POSITIVE AS-
PECTS OF BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, POINTED OUT PROBLEMS
CREATED BY HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS, ANTI-US MEDIA
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ATTACKS AND OTHER DIVERGENCIES OF POLICY. HE ANNOUNCED
THAT MILITARY ASSISTANCE GRANTS WOULD BE TERMINATED
AFTER CURRENT FISCAL YEAR, ALTHOUGH SECURITY CREDITS
WERE STILL AVAILABLE AND FOREIGN MILITARY SALES WOULD
CONTINUE. SEELYE ATTEMPTED TO COUNTER BLACK PICTURE
OF SAUDI ARABIA AND SUDAN PAINTED BY GETACHEW, EXPRESS-
ING OPTIMISM THAT SUDAN AND ETHIOPIA SHOULD BE ABLE TO
RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING AMB SEELYE'S OFFICIAL CALL ON ACTING FONMIN

GETACHEW KIBRET FEB 24, GETACHEW BEGAN BY CHARACTERIZING VISIT AS TIMELY OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS SHORTLY AFTER NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD COME TO OFFICE. ETHIOPIA SAW ENCOURAGING SIGNS IN RECENT US POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA. LIBERATION ASPIRATIONS NO LONGER PLAYED SECONDARY ROLE IN US THINKING, AND USG EFFORTS TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAD PROVEN CONSTRUCTIVE AND WERE WELCOMED BY EPMG.

2. GETACHEW REFERRED TO LONG-STANDING BILATERAL US-ETHIOPIA RELATIONSHIP. HE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR ALL PAST ASSISTANCE RENDERED AND LOOKED FORWARD TO CONTINUATION OF RELATIONSHIP WHICH EPMG "VALUED VERY HIGHLY." AT SAME TIME RELATIONSHIP WAS CHANGING. IN CONTRAST TO ETHIOPIA'S PAST PRO-WEST STANCE, INDICATIVE OF COLD WAR ERA, ETHIOPIA NOW FOLLOWED POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT, SEEKING TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES ON BASIS OF EQUALITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, IN KEEPING WITH GREATER INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS WHICH HAD BECOME FACT OF LIFE.

3. GETACHEW REFERRED TO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE IN ETHIOPIA DESIGNED TO BRING MASSES INTO LIFE OF NATION AND UTILIZE THEIR ENERGY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRY. THESE CHANGES HAD OFTEN BEEN MISMATCHED IN THE WEST, PARTICULARLY IN MEDIA, WHICH TENDED TO
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DESCRIBE REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS IN ETHIOPIA AS NEW PHENOMENA, AS IF OTHER COUNTRIES HAD NOT GONE THROUGH SIMILAR CONVULSIONS. SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWN UNDERSTANDING, SYMPATHY, AND SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION, AND HAVE RESPONDED FAVORABLY TO EPMG'S ATTEMPTS TO DIVERSIFY ITS RELATIONS. AT SAME TIME ETHIOPIA CONSIDERED US A MAJOR POWER WITH CAPACITY TO DETERMINE MATTERS OF WAR AND PEACE. EPMG EXPECTED US TO PLAY ROLE IN SOLVING MAJOR WORLD ISSUES AND LOOKED FORWARD TO GREATER US INVOLVEMENT, PARTICULARLY IN MATTERS OF DEVELOPMENT.

4. GETACHEW SINGLED OUT SAUDI ARABIA AS HAVING MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ETHIOPIA'S WORSENING RELATIONSHIP WITH SUDAN, AND FOR ITS CONTINUED DIFFICULTIES IN ERITREA. SINCE US MAINTAINED CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH SAUDI ARABIA, HE FELT THAT US SHOULD ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE SAUDI ACTIONS, SO THAT THEY WOULD USE THEIR PETRO DOLLARS FOR BENEFIT MANKIND INSTEAD OF DISRUPTIVE ACTS AGAINST HER INTERESTS. IN HIS VIEW A SIMILAR US EFFORT WITH SUDAN ITSELF COULD ALSO BE HELPFUL.

5. AMB SEELYE OUTLINED BRIEFLY STATE OF PLAY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ISSUE, EMPHASIZING THAT NEW US ADMINIS-

TRATION HAD DEEP INTEREST AND CONCERN FOR AFRICA, IDENTIFIED WITH AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS, AND WISHED TO INTENSIFY ITS EFFORTS ON THIS CONTINENT.

6. TURNING TO BILATERAL RELATIONS SEELYE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PROBLEMS EXISTED, BUT STATED THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MORE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF RELATIONSHIP AND SHOULD IDENTIFY AREAS WHERE THEY COULD WORK TOGETHER. USG HAD ENDEAVORED TO CONTINUE ITS PROGRAM IN ETHIOPIA ON STEADY BASIS, BUT IT WAS NOT ALWAYS EASY TO DO SO WHEN QUESTIONS WERE RAISED AT HOME AS TO MEANING OF PRESS ATTACKS ON US AND WHEN POLICIES OF TWO COUNTRIES

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DIVERGED IN SOME AREAS. HE AGREED THAT SOME MISUNDERSTANDING EXISTED ABROAD AS TO WHAT ETHIOPIA WAS TRYING TO ACHIEVE. IF THERE WERE THOSE IN ETHIOPIA WHO BELIEVED THAT US TOOK JAUNDICED VIEW OF EVENTS IN ETHIOPIA BECAUSE OF EXISTENCE THERE OF SOCIALIST REGIME, HE WANTED TO ASSURE THE MINISTER THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. US HAD NO QUARREL WITH SOCIALIST APPROACH TO PROBLEM SOLVING PER SE. MANY REFORM PROGRAMS BEING CARRIED OUT IN ETHIOPIA WERE VERY SAME ONES WHICH US HAD FREQUENTLY ATTEMPTED TO PROMOTE HERE WITH PREVIOUS GOVT IN PAST. THESE PROGRAMS MET STANDARDS FOR SEEKING HUMAN PROGRESS IN WHICH US BELIEVED. US ALSO WELCOMED STATED ETHIOPIAN POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT, WHICH IS COMPATIBLE WITH US CONCEPT OF WORLD ORDER. USG DOES NOT DEMAND ACTIVELY PRO-WEST OR PRO-AMERICAN STANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, AS LONG AS THOSE COUNTRIES IN DETERMINING THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS LEAVE THEIR DOORS OPEN FOR USEFUL COOPERATION WITH ENTIRE WORLD.

7. SEELYE EXPRESSED PLEASURE OVER FACT THAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE ON ETHIOPIAN COMPENSATION FOR NATIONALIZED US CONCERNS, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH HE SAW AS HELPFUL TO BILATERAL RELATIONS. ON OTHER HAND, USG FACED STRONG CURRENTS OF DOMESTIC AND CONGRESSIONAL OPINION. CONGRESS HAD GROWN STRONGER IN RECENT YEARS AS RESTRAINING FORCE ON FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IT, ALONG WITH NEW ADMINISTRATION, WAS TAKING HARD LOOK AT COUNTRIES WHERE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE PERCEIVED. DESIRE TO ASSURE EXISTENCE OF LEGAL SAFEGUARDS FOR INDIVIDUALS WAS CONSISTENT WITH US ASPIRATIONS FOR AFRICAN PEOPLE AS WHOLE. WHILE USG RECOGNIZES THAT NEW REGIME IN THIRD WORLD WOULD SOMETIME FEEL THEY MUST TAKE EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES IN CONSOLIDATING THEIR POSITIONS, HE FELT OBLIGED TO SAY THAT CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT WORLD WOULD INCREASINGLY AFFECT US ATTITUDES ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

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8. AMB SEELYE STRESSED THAT US SUPPORTED TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL COUNTRIES AND THIS POSITION IS CONSISTENT WITH PRINCIPLES IN OAU CHARTER IN THIS REGARD. THESE PRINCIPLES APPLIED IN ETHIOPIA, BUT ALSO IN DJIBOUTI. US WAS LOOKING FOR WAYS TO USE ITS INFLUENCE IN ASSURING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO DJIBOUTI INDEPENDENCE. FOR MOMENT, US HAD NO INFLUENCE ON SOMALIA ACTIONS, BUT IT WAS CONSULTING WITH FRENCH, WHO AWARE OF US DESIRE FOR ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION. HE ASSURED GETACHEW THAT US WOULD DO WHAT IT COULD AND WELCOMED ANY SUGGESTIONS EPMG CARE TO MAKE. US SUPPORTED CONTINUED FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE IN DJIBOUTI AFTER INDEPENDENCE SHOULD NEW GOVT THERE SO DESIRE, BUT WAS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ANY MILITARY INTERVENTION IN DJIBOUTI ON PART OF OUTSIDE POWER. AS FOR US VIEW ON SAUDIS, HE BELIEVED SAUDIS ALSO SUPPORTED TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ETHIOPIA AND WOULD NOT FAVOR DISMEMBERMENT OF COUNTRY. BY SAME TOKEN SAUDIS SUPPORTED DJIBOUTI TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE AND HAD ESTABLISHED CONSULATE THERE TO THIS END. AS FOR SOMALIA, SAUDIS WERE INDEED ATTEMPTING TO PULL SOMALIA AWAY FROM ITS PRESENT ORIENTATION AND TO WEAN IT FROM SOVIET CONNECTION, BUT WERE CERTAINLY NOT IN LEAGUE WITH SOMALIA.

9. SUMMING UP, SEELYE STATED THAT USG WISHED TO HAVE AS SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP AS IT COULD WITH EPMG. US PLANNED TO CONTINUE ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND MIGHT EVEN BE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO INCREASING THEM, IF ADEQUATE JUSTIFICATION COULD BE PROVIDED CONSISTENT WITH DEVELOPMENT NEEDS. ON OTHER HAND, MILITARY MATERIEL GRANT ASSISTANCE WOULD TERMINATE AFTER CURRENT FISCAL YEAR IN CONFORMITY WITH WORLDWIDE CUTBACK IN US SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH GROWING US CONSIDERATIONS OF
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HUMAN RIGHTS FACTORS. MAP EQUIPMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO COME INTO ETHIOPIA FOR SOME TIME THEREAFTER UNDER AGREEMENTS ALREADY CONTRACTED FOR. SECURITY ASSISTANCE CREDITS WOULD ALSO STILL BE AVAILABLE, SHOULD EPMG DESIRE TO AVAIL ITSELF THEREOF, AND FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM WAS CONTINUING AS IN PAST. PROBLEMS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS DID EXIST. PUBLIC AND SOMETIMES OFFICIAL HOSTILE REFERENCES TO CIA SCAPEGOAT DID NOT HELP. US ALSO TOOK NOTE OF GREATER PREDILECTION ON PART OF EPMG LEADERS TO MEET AND ASSOCIATE WITH SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, BUT AS LONG AS BOTH COUNTRIES HAD A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RESPECTIVE PRIORITY INTERESTS, SEELYE THOUGHT

BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP COULD CONTINUE WHICH SERVED
MUTUAL INTERESTS OF PRESERVING STABILITY OF REGION.

10. GETACHEW'S COMMENTS ON HUMANRIGHTS ISSUE ARE
REPORTED SEPT. ASKED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR
ORDERLY TRANSITION IN DJIBOUTI, HE SAID PREREQUISITE
WAS CREATION OF GRAND COALITION GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING
ALL POLITICAL GROUPS. FRENCH, HOWEVER, APPEARED TO BE
FAVORING ONLY ONE GROUP, CONTAINING STRONG PRO-
SOMALI ELEMENT. EPMG FEAR WAS THAT THIS GROUP SUBSERVIENT
TO SOMALIA MIGHT ENGINEER PUPPET GOVERNMENT AFTER
INDEPENDENCE AND DOCTORED ELECTION, GIVING SOMALIA
DOMINANT ROLE IN TERRITORY. ALTHOUGH FORMER UNI
CHIEF AND DJIBOUTI GOVERNMENT LEADER ALI AREF NO
LONGER IN POWER, EPMG WANTED UNI TO SERVE AS
BALANCING FORCE TO COUNTERACT PRO-SOMALI TREND,
BUT UNI WAS NOT GETTING ASSISTANCE IT NEEDS FROM
FRENCH OR ELSEWHERE. ACCORDINGLY, UNI WAS NOT PRE-
PARED TO PARTICIPATE IN PARIS ROUNDTABLE AND VIEWED
ACCRA MEETING UNDER OAU SUSPICES AS MORE LIKELY VENUE
FOR CONFLICTING DJIBOUTI FACTIONS TO COME TO AGREE-
MENT.

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11. ASKED WHAT US COULD DO TO HELP, GETACHEW SOUGHT
SUPPORT FOR GRAND COALITION GOVERNMENT IDEA, US SUPPORT
FOR GUARANTEES FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND
NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES FOR DJIBOUTI INDEPENDENCE, AND
TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE AND NO ARMED INTERVENTION
THEREAFTER. SEELYE REMINDED HIM OF US STATEMENT ON
DJIBOUTI AT UNGA LAST DECEMBER, SAID HE WOULD BE
BRINGING US VIEWS TO GSDR ATTENTION WITHIN FEW DAYS,
AND WOULD LOOK INTO POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER PUBLIC
STATEMENT AFTER RETURNING HOME.

12. RETURNING TO SAUD ARABIA, GETACHEW SAID HE COULD
NOT ABSOLVE SAUDIS FROM INVOLVEMENT IN TROUBLES IN HORN,
SINCE THEY HARBOR ELF ELEMENTS WITHIN THEIR BORDERS
AND PROVIDE SECESSIONIST FORCES MATERIEL ASSISTANCE.
SAUDI AUTHORITIES ALSO REGULARLY DISCUSSED ERITREA
ISSUE WITH NIMEIRI AND HAD INFLUENCED HIS DECISION
MORE OPENLY TO BACK SECESSIONISTS. MOREOVER, SAUDIS
WERE GIVING ASSISTANCE TO OTHER ANTI-EPMG GROUPS
OPERATING FROM BASES IN SUDAN, WHO WERE NOT THEMSELVES
SECESSIONIST, BUT ADMITTED THAT THEY WERE ACTING IN
CONJUNCTION MILITARILY, WITH ELF.

13. AMB SEELYE SUGGESTED THAT WHEN NIMEIRI SPOKE, THIS
DID NOT MEAN THAT THE SAUDIS WERE PUSHING HIM TO DO SO.
THE SUDANESE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRESENCE IN
ETHIOPIA OF ANSAR CAMPS, WHICH THEY BELIEVED WERE

BEING STIRRED UP AGAINST SUDAN BY LIBYA. AT SAME TIME,
HE EXPRESSED PLEASURE OVER SIGNS THAT SUDAN AND
ETHIOPIA WERE ATTEMPTING TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES.
WHILE IN KENYA HE HAD LEARNED OF KENYAN INTEREST IN
DEVELOPING BINATIONAL ECONOMIC PROJECTS WITH
SOUTHERN SUDAN, AND HE HAD IMPRESSION THAT NIMEIRI
HAD DONE MORE THAN HIS PREDECESSORS TO DEVELOP THE
SOUTHERN SUDAN AND TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH COUN-
TRIES TO THE SOUTH. SEELYENOTED THAT NIMEIRI HAD
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OFFERED HIS SERVICES TO MEDIATE THE ERITREAN
CRISIS.

14. GETACHEW DISPUTED THE VIEW THAT SUDANESE ARE
FOLLOWING MODERATE POLICY, CLAIMING THAT ERITREAN
SECESSIONISTS WOULD NEVER HAVE HAD AS MUCH SUCCESS
WITHOUT SUDANESE ASSISTANCE. MOREOVER, NIMEIRI'S
ALLEGED ROLE AS INTERMEDIARY HAD PROVEN TO BE A
FRONT, AND THAT NIMEIRI HIMSELF HAD RECENTLY
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD LOST INTEREST IN
INTERMEDIARY ROLE AS RESULT OF EPMG TAKEOVER IN 1974.
GETACHEW ALSO CONTENDED THAT LIBYANS WERE NOT INSTI-
GATING ANY SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES FROM ETHIOPIAN TERRI-
TORY. ASKED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR SOLUTION
ERTITREA, GETACHEW SAID THAT ONE FOREIGN COUNTRIES
SUSPENDED ASSISTANCE TO INSURGENT ELEMENTS, SOLUTION
WOULD BE EASY. WITHOUT SUCH SUSPENSION, HOWEVER,
PROBLEM LIKELY TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY, EPMG FOR-
SAW GRANTING LARGE MEASURE OF AUTONOMY TO ALL REGIONS
OF ETHIOPIA, BUT NO SPECIALSTATUS PER SE FOR ERITREA.
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